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423 621 631 Alongside the Balinese commune is the contrasting influence of mediæval princes who have tried, without success, to abolish the village organization and the religion that motivated it, to replace it by feudal rule with an official cult under their control. Passive disobedience at first, and Dutch supremacy later, left the princes in the position of impoverished nominal aristocrats, who, despite the fact that they represent the Government, are excluded from the administrative management of the villages. [474] Through their co-operative societies, the *bandjars* and *subaks*, the Balinese have recaptured some of their village autonomy. However, the communal system has suffered considerably in the feudal territories where the princes have held sway; the communal lands sometimes became part of the estate of the local prince, who gave grants of lands to his vassals in exchange for servitude, and gradually ownership of the land in these districts became more and more individualistic, developing a class of organized small landowners. Village ground cannot legally be disposed of, but *sawas* have been pawned when there was great need of ready cash. Land has never become a commodity, however, and today the agriculturist is protected to a certain extent [648] by the law forbidding the sale of agricultural lands to foreigners, perhaps one of the wisest laws passed by the Dutch Government.

511 556 Economic inequality is not as striking in Bali as elsewhere. Until recently almost everybody wore the same type of clothes, all went barefoot and lived in thatched houses. At first sight they all seemed happy and prosperous. The majority of the population has a roof, enough to eat, and some big silver dollars buried under the earthen floor of the sleeping-quarters. Yet there are some who are extremely poor while others are considered rich. There are people without lands or a house of their own, living a parasitic life of slavery, a remnant of feudalism, attached to the household of a master and eating whatever is given them. A rich family is one who has *sawas*, a house with a gate of carved stone, a large rice granary, an ornate family temple, and a well-built pavilion for guests. They may have some fine cloths put away

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and heirlooms in the form of gold jewellery, a kris with a gold sheath and handle set with precious stones and a number of silver or gold vessels, all of which can be pawned in one of the Government pawnshops in case of need.

In general the Balinese have little need of cash to procure the daily necessities of life. Normally the cost of living is extremely low and food and the requirements for shelter are produced by the Balinese themselves. A meal in a public eating-place may cost as much as twenty cents, but, having rice, the cash expense for food for an entire family in the home amounts only to a few pennies, perhaps only enough to buy salt and spices. Fruit and vegetables are grown in the gardens adjoining the house; pigs, chickens, and ducks are raised at home to be killed on special occasions or for offerings which the people themselves eat after the gods have consumed the essence. Fuel consists of the fallen dry leaves and stems of the coconut trees.

The housing-problem is simple. Entire families live together in ancestral compounds, and a modest house can be built almost overnight out of bamboo and thatch at a very low cost. People without means or without a house simply go to live with a relative, "sharing a kitchen" in exchange for small services and assistance in the general housework, or procure land from the village and gradually build their own household. The daily clothing consists of a *kamben*, a piece of cotton worn like a skirt, and a head-cloth, with an added shirt or blouse in the more "modern" districts. A complete ordinary outfit of clothes costs about two guilders ($1.36 at the time of writing): one guilder for the skirt, fifty cents for the headpiece and fifty cents more for the shirt. Amusements are free and transportation is mainly by foot, leaving medicines and luxuries to be bought for cash.

It was always a mystery to us how the Balinese made the money they seemed to spend so lavishly in extravagant festivals and in beautiful clothes. They never appeared to work regularly for wages, and outside of the market, in which alone business was transacted, they never seemed interested in commerce. The men

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kris to represent him, as for instance a judge who is sick and cannot attend a trial. In certain cases the marriage of a prince to a woman of the lower castes is performed by proxy in the form of the kris of her future husband. A new kris must be made "alive" by a priest, who blesses it in a special ceremony, reciting magic formulas over it and inscribing imaginary signs over the blade, while its owner dedicates an offering. Ancient krisses are kept alive with offerings of flowers and incense; a neglected and rusty kris is said to be dead.

The economic status of a man is determined by the richness of his kris, and a good part of his fortune is invested in the gold and jewels that decorate it. Only the blade is sacred, and the gold parts, the precious stones and ivory can be pawned in case of need and turned into cash. There are krisses worth thousands of guilders, covered with beaten gold, with handles shaped like gods or demons and set with enormous rubies and rose diamonds. Such are the famous krisses of the kings of South Bali taken by the Dutch as war booty at the time of the great mass-suicide of Den Pasar in 1906, now among the star pieces of the Batavia Museum. These fancy jewelled krisses were made to be worn on state occasions, while simpler ones were used for actual fighting, with more practical wooden handles shaped to ensure a good grip.

Gold hilts with precious stones are of course the most stylish, but there are also some made of horn, ebony, and other precious woods, with a heavy base (*bebataran*) of gold set with rubies and a small ring, of gold and rubies also, between the hilt and the blade. There is a great variety of kris handles, but a particularly interesting model is that called *kotjet-kotjetan*, the representation in ebony of the chrysalis of a large beetle with long antennæ.

The sheath not only protects the kris from outside influences, both physical and magic, but also insulates the vibrations emanating from the kris itself, which may act dangerously on human beings. The sheaths of the super-ornate krisses are of wood

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begin over again the progressive march towards ultimate perfection. A man who is guilty of serious crimes is punished by being reborn, often for periods of thousands of years, into a tiger, a dog, a snake, a worm, or a poisonous mushroom. 775 [564]

Between incarnations, until the time comes for its return to this earth, the soul goes to Indra's heaven, the *swarga*, a reservoir where "life is just as in Bali, but devoid of all trouble and illness." But this process does not go on forever; when the individual has attained the highest wisdom and has reached the highest position among men, that of a Brahmana who has been ordained as a priest, he hopes to obtain liberation from this cycle of births and become a god. The man of low caste attributes his state to former misconduct, redeemable in future lives only through a virtuous existence, which entitles him to be reborn into a higher and higher caste.

A man's life on this earth is but an incident in the long process of the soul's evolution. [761]

The grand send-off of the soul into heaven, in the form of a rich and complete cremation, is the life-ambition of every Balinese. He looks forward to it, often making provision during life with savings or property that can be pawned or sold to finance his cremation. The greatest happiness that comes to a Balinese family is to have, in this way, accomplished the liberation of the souls of their dead, but complete cremation ceremonies are so costly that a family of limited means have to wait often for years, haunted by the fact that their dead are not yet cremated, and are sometimes obliged to sacrifice their crops and their lands in order to pay for the ceremonies. The expenses of a cremation are enormous; besides the priest's fees, the great amounts of holy water used, and the costly towers, coffins, offerings, and so forth, there is the food and entertainment provided for days for the hundreds of guests and assistants that help in the ceremonies. 764

A rich cremation adds greatly to the prestige of a well-to-do family, giving occasion for gay, extravagant festivities that are eagerly anticipated despite the financial burden they represent. [556]